

"THE CHAPLAINS AND CLERGY
AT THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH,
28 JUNE 1778"

by

Chaplain (Cpt) Stanley W. Cuyler
UNITED STATES ARMY CHAPLAIN CENTER AND SCHOOL
FORT MONMOUTH, NEW JERSEY

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE COURSE,
CHAPLAIN OFFICERS ADVANCE COURSE, C-22

3 JUNE 1986

CONTENTS

1

INTRODUCTION.	Page 3
THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH.	Page 4
VIGNETTES OF CHAPLAINS AND CLERGY AT THE SCENE.	Page 8
THE WORK OF THE CHAPLAINS AND CLERGY IN THE FLOW OF THE BATTLE.	Page 16
HISTORICAL INFLUENCES.	Page 18
CONCLUSION.	Page 19

INTRODUCTION:

Chaplains in the Revolutionary War years performed much of the duties of present-day chaplains but with much more difficulty. There were no jeeps or vans in these early years. The chaplains at Valley Forge were subject to the ravages of disease without the benefit of penicillin and some died. The conditions at the Battle of Monmouth were terrible. It had recently rained heavily and it was now hot and humid with swollen creeks to wade filled with mud. This was to be the last major conflict of the Revolutionary War where both sides had massive forces pitted against the other.

These chaplains were responsible for three things: "They were to conduct divine services, to obey their superior officers and Congress and to act as representatives of God."¹ Congress authorized one chaplain per Brigade in 1777, however, often a chaplain had to provide double coverage because not all brigades could obtain a chaplain. Chaplain Henry Miller had the widest of coverage responsibilities as he was the chaplain to all Germans in the entire American Army. There were also chaplains with multiple duties. Chaplain David Chambers was a chaplain to one brigade and a surgeon to another. David Caldwell had been a chaplain during the early years of the war but later became a deputy quartermaster. There were regimental chaplains, brigade chaplains, and hospital chaplains.

The chaplains at the Battle of Monmouth fought alongside the soldiers, manning the guns, helping the wounded, clothing the naked, and marching through burning sand. The scene of the battle was a rolling series of hills and creeks with a court house on the East and a church with its graveyard on the West. These buildings symbolized what the war was all about: the struggle for religious liberty and the right to govern themselves without foreign intervention.

The following is a result of several weeks of research throughout the Fort Monmouth area of New Jersey. The Battle of Monmouth battle field was walked several times and the writer experienced some hot days there. The same hindrances the soldiers experienced are not there but the creeks and the orchards are there. The Old Tennent Church still stands as does the grave-stones with homages paid to the many who were buried there following the Battle of Monmouth. Special appreciation is extended to Chaplain (Major) Richard Whaley, resident historian at the United States Army Chaplain Center and School, for his guidance and mentoring during this study.

THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH:

The following is a brief synopsis of the flow of the battle which occurred at Monmouth Court House (near present-day Freehold), New Jersey on the twenty-eighth of June in 1778. On this memorable day, some of the greatest historical figures fought to preserve independence which had been declared on 4 July 1776. General George Washington commanded about 10,000 forces fresh from the grueling Valley Forge experience. General Henry Clinton, the new commander of the British Army in America, commanded a similar number fresh from the luxury of Philadelphia.

Clinton had the task of moving his army and baggage from Philadelphia to New York by way of New Jersey. Many of the soldiers and artillery pieces had been taken by ship prior to his departure from Philadelphia but the shortage of ships necessitated this overland march. Included in the train were many camp followers, wives, and Tories (loyalists to the British cause). The British Army also had the services of the Hessians (Germans) who were hired by the British for their great military abilities.

Washington had just had his reputation threatened by several high ranking officials, some of whom were on his immediate staff of officers. They felt he had exercised poor judgment in placing the soldiers at Valley Forge, for not attacking Philadelphia, and for mishandling the war. Of course, there were many of these who envied his position as Commander-In-Chief. Now, with knowledge that the British were evacuating Philadelphia, Washington had the opportunity to strike a decisive blow to the enemy forces. He had the services of two outstanding foreign advisors: General Marquis de Lafayette from France, and the Baron von Stueben from Germany. France had just declared their support for the American cause and von Stueben was eager to assist in shaping up this rag-tag army. By June 1778, they were a formidable fighting force eager to leave Valley Forge behind and exercise their new formations.

It has been said that "the sacrificial spirit is at the root of morale; and we find it of course only when a man knows what he believes in and what he stands for."² Charles Lee was recently ransomed from the British where he had been a prisoner of war. He now was new to his troops and with such a warm reception given him by General Washington he was also resented by many of the officers. He proved to be unable to exercise courage and zeal at the Battle of Monmouth.

Early in May, General Washington ordered General Maxwell to take his New Jersey Continentals of about 1200 soldiers to the area of the British who were marching toward New York City. He was to join forces with General Philemon Dickinson who was commander of the New Jersey Militia, a group of 1200 soldiers composed from small groups throughout the state. Their duty was to harass the enemy by destroying bridges, attacking their flanks and rear, and destroying crops along the way so the British would have none. The British had evacuated Philadelphia on 17 June with the Queen's Rangers (a unit composed of Americans loyal to the British) and Hessian Grenadiers providing security. On 18 June, General Washington ordered his forward

elements to break camp and move toward New Jersey. This forward element consisted of five divisions commanded by General Charles Lee, General Anthony Wayne, General Marquis de Lafayette, General Dekalb's division, and General Stirling. The main army broke camp to follow on the 19th of June while a heavy rain fell. On 22 June, Washington ordered the forward element to form in two lines. The first line was to have a right wing consisting of Woodford's Brigade, Scott's, the North Carolina Brigade, Poor's, Varnum's, and Huntington's. The left wing of the first line was to contain the 1st Pennsylvania Brigade, the 2nd Pennsylvania Brigade, late Conway's Brigade, Glover's, Learned's, and Patterson's. The right wing would be commanded by Lee and the Left wing commanded by Stirling. The second line under the command of Lafayette would contain the 1st Maryland Brigade, 2nd Maryland Brigade, Muhlenberg's, Weedon's, and Maxwell's Brigades.

On the 23rd of June the entire American Army was encamped at Hopewell, New Jersey. At the British location on their line of march the New Jersey Militia was fighting a skirmish with the Queen's Rangers and destroying bridges across the many creeks and rivers the British must cross. On the 24th of June, Washington called a Council of War with his key generals and staff. It is interesting to note that at the time of the meeting, 0900 Hours, a solar eclipse occurred. It was a hot day in New Jersey. It is also interesting to note that it was here at Hopewell where Brigadier-General Cadwalader arrived from Philadelphia with the Jackson's Continental Regiment to bring a new supply of cartridges, which the troops greatly needed. It is stated by the historian Stryker: "These cartridges had been made by the deft fingers of patriotic women in Philadelphia during the four days previous, using, for paper wrappers, it is said, some of the sermons on defensive warfare by the famous minister Gilbert Tennent, preached during the French war for the purpose of enlisting men for that struggle. These sermons had been stowed away in Benjamin Franklin's printing room and were brought forth to wrap the ammunition to be fired on the plains of Monmouth."³ It is interesting to also note that Gilbert Tennent had been pastor of the Old Tennent Church at the site of the Battlefield many years previously.

Also, on the 24th of June, Washington sent Colonel Morgan with his riflemen to supplement General Maxwell's forces. He later that day sent Scott's Brigade to help. The goal was to harass the British in this manner: Gen. Maxwell will attack and annoy their right and rear while Scott would attack and annoy the left and rear. Major General Steuben was then sent to recon the positions of the British forces. The next day, the 25th of June, Washington sent BG Wayne with Poor's Brigade and the Pennsylvania Brigades to assist. Lafayette was then dispatched to take command of all the forward elements. There were now over 5,000 soldiers in this forward army and Lee, perturbed by the young Lafayette being in command sent word to Washington that he would accept command of the forward army. This day was also very hot with swarms of mosquitoes harassing the troops. The German soldiers were especially affected by this heat suffering heat stroke. The British were now being harassed by Colonel Morgan on the right flank, Gen Maxwell on left flank, Gen. Scott in the rear, and General Dickinson with the New Jersey to the front.

On the 26th of June, Washington acquiesced and gave Lee command of the forward army. He positioned Lafayette to recon the British and report was given that the British were now encamped at Monmouth Court House area. Lafayette was within five miles of the British at this time. That night there was a severe thunder and lightning storm with heavy rain. The British stayed in position which was quite formidable all day on 27 June. It was again a very hot day and that day his troops pulled down the bell at the Monmouth Court House and demolished the steeple of the Episcopal Church. That night was very hot with no breeze.⁴ During that night again there were severe thunderstorms. Lee had his key officers report to him for instructions and demanded obedience.

On 28 June, the day of battle, the British were ordered by Clinton to leave at 0300 hours toward Middleton and then to Sandy Hook to meet ships for their shuttle to New York City. The night before, Dr. Griffith, surgeon and chaplain had visited General Washington to discuss Lee.⁵ This meeting helped Washington to be on his toes and probably saved the army from certain defeat. Colonel Grayson moved his 300 soldiers into recon position about 0300 hours. Lee moved his forces at 0700 hours to engage the enemy with Gen. Wayne in front, Gen. Scott second, Gen. Maxwell third, and Col. Jackson fourth. At 0900 hours, Lee sent Wayne to Col. Grayson to take command of the front line. About this time the New Jersey Militia were engaged in a fight with the guards of the British rear. By 0900 hours, the Queen's Rangers fired on Wayne's troops and Colonel Butler's Regiment. The firing continued from both sides and the 9th Pennsylvania Regiment proved to be the strongest element in resisting the British. At 1000 Hours the British rangers and dragoons attempted a vicious offensive movement on Wayne's and Butler's soldiers but were repelled. At 1100 Hours Maxwell's Brigade came under fire and noticed that several elements were retreating around him. At 1200 hours, Lafayette's forces were attacking the British then were ordered by Lee to retreat. All the forces began a hasty retreat about this time due to inconsistent orders or misunderstood orders. Communication was severely hampered during this time. Col Morgan's forces were left on the fringe of the battle and not even called on during the whole day. General Washington arrived around 1300 Hours at the request of both Wayne and Lafayette who observed the affair as entirely too disorderly. Gen Washington rebuked Lee and then assumed command by attempting a hasty defense with Wayne's forces and Col Grayson's unit. General Stirling and General Greene were bringing up their main army forces and took positions to assist the cause. The British although attempting a major breakthrough by penetration were halted by Wayne and Grayson. Knox's artillery later formed on Comb's Hill to zero in on the British. Maxwell's forces stood their ground. Muhlenberg's Brigade of Germans and Virginians engaged the enemy in a musketry duel with over one hour of firing.

The American forces were almost back to the Old Tennent Church by now and were repelling the British. The forward elements were pushing back heavy infantry attacks and Gen. Poor had one unit of British in retreat. Before they could form an offensive, however, the British fell back to disengage and

then the British set up their camp. Washington had Gen. Maxwell and Col. Morgan stay near the British during the night. During that day of battle, the Old Tennent Church and parsonage was used as field hospitals.⁶

The next day the army awoke to find the British had left during the night. Washington ordered Maxwell and Morgan to follow the British to harass them and receive deserters. The New Jersey Militia were particularly commended by Washington that day, 29 June.⁷

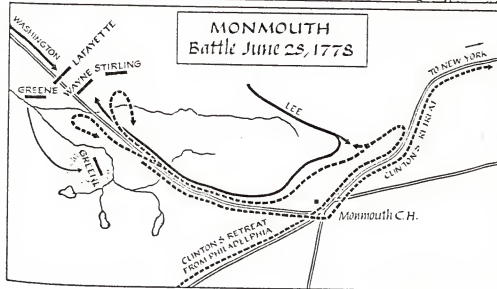
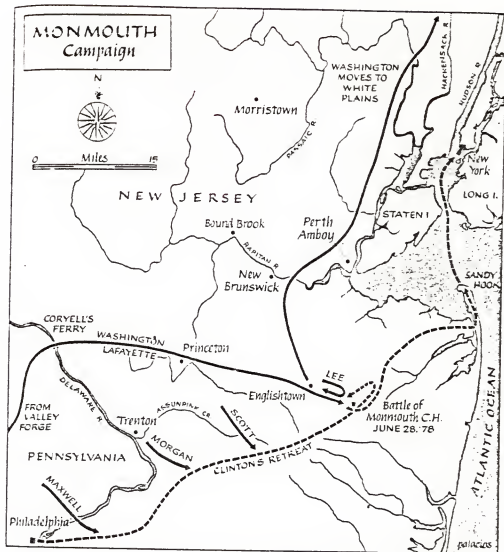
On the 30th of June, the troops were assembled for the giving of thanks to God for the victory. This occurred at Englishtown.⁸ The battle had been fierce what with the constant falling back of the American soldiers and the heat and humidity of the day. The chaplains were kept extremely busy. Of particular note is the involvement of clergy who were not chaplains. This will be discussed in the next section.

off through New Jersey twelve thousand troops at e, confident for the first destroy an enemy army. govern Philadelphia until hold declared martial law ordered goods held for property, which was to

igned a secret agreement general, and his deputy surplus army goods for y.

redibly dirty. Lucy and It stunk so abominably ngress was forced to use as in a "filthy and sor- used as stables and the holes cut in parlor floors. t the heart of the city y, but unlike the build- abita have suffered from "scarlet fashions, and hundreds not hesitate in suppos- ere in the city with the dresses have purchased is agreed on all hands l with the girls. The the common prosti-

d into the New Jersey eating in heavy woolen weighed from fifty to es during the frequent led trees were cleared



LIST OF UNITS PRESENT

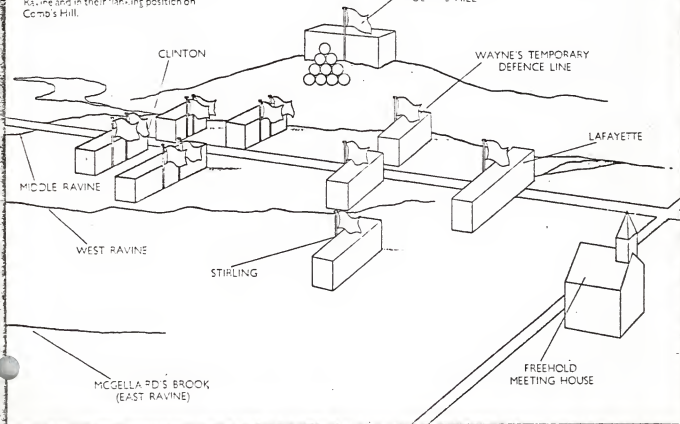
Earl Cornwallis
 Lieutenant-General Sir Henry Clinton
FIRST DIVISION
 (Lieutenant-General Earl Cornwallis)
 Brigades and detachments of:
 1st Light Dragoons (detachment)
 1st Light Infantry (detachment)
 Brigade of Guards
 Queen's Rangers (detachment)
 1st and 2nd Grenadiers (detachment)
 Hessian Grenadiers (detachment)
 3rd, 4th and 5th British brigades
SECOND DIVISION
 (Lieutenant-General Baron von Knyphausen)
 17th Light Dragoons
 2nd Light Infantry
 Hessian Jaegers
 1st and 2nd British brigades
 Stern's and von Loo's Hessian brigades
 Pennsylvania Loyalists

West Jersey Volunteers
 Maryland Loyalists
REARGUARD
 Detachments of:
 16th Light Dragoons
 Queen's Rangers
 1st Light Infantry
 British Grenadiers
 Hessian Grenadiers
 2 3-pounder guns
ARTILLERY
 12 6-pounders
 2 12-pounders
 2 howitzers -

ESTIMATED TOTAL: 12-13,000 ALL RANKS
 Losses: 294 killed and wounded (including 59 dead of fatigue and sunstroke) 64 missing. Over 600 deserted on the march to Sandy Hook.

After Lee's retreat, Clinton follows up but is unable to break into the American lines, which hold firm on either side of the West Ravine and in their flanking position on Comb's Hill.

GREENE'S DIVISION
 AND ARTILLERY ON
 COMB'S HILL



LIST OF UNITS PRESENT

AMERICAN

General George Washington
ADVANCE CORPS (Major-General)
 Charles Lee, second in command.
 Marquis de Lafayette;
 Brigades and detachments of:
 Brigadier-General Scott 1,440
 (detachment)
 Brigadier-General Wayne 1,000
 (detachment)
 Brigadier-General Maxwell 900-1,000
 (brigade)
 Brigadier-General Varnum 300-600
 (brigade)
 Brigadier-General Scott 300-600
 (brigade)
 Colonel Jackson 200
 (detachment)
 Detachment of Light Horse
 4 field guns

MAIN ARMY

Brigades of:
 Woodford - Virginia 385
 North Carolina 369
 Poor - N. C. 639
 Huntington 509
 1st Maryland 657
 2nd Maryland 529
 Muhlenberg - Va. 445
 Weedon 352
 1st Pennsylvania 401
 2nd Pennsylvania 343
 3rd Pennsylvania 512
 Glover 294
 Learned 557
 Pitters - N. C. 11,000
 ESTIMATED TOTAL 11,000

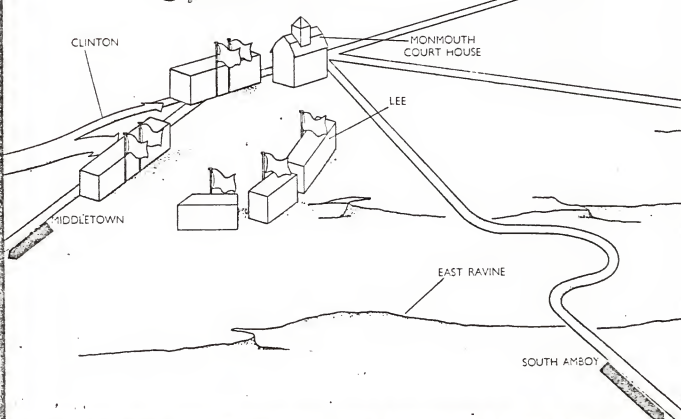
NOTE: Morgan's detachment (500) and Dickinson's New Jersey militia (600) are not included here, since those corps did not take part in the main battle.
 Losses: 69 killed (including 37 from fatigue and sunstroke), 161 wounded, 132 missing, most of whom subsequently rejoined the army.

Grayson Va Regt
 Co. Smith - Conn.
 Stewart
 1st PA

Pitters Pennsylvania militia Livingston N.Y.

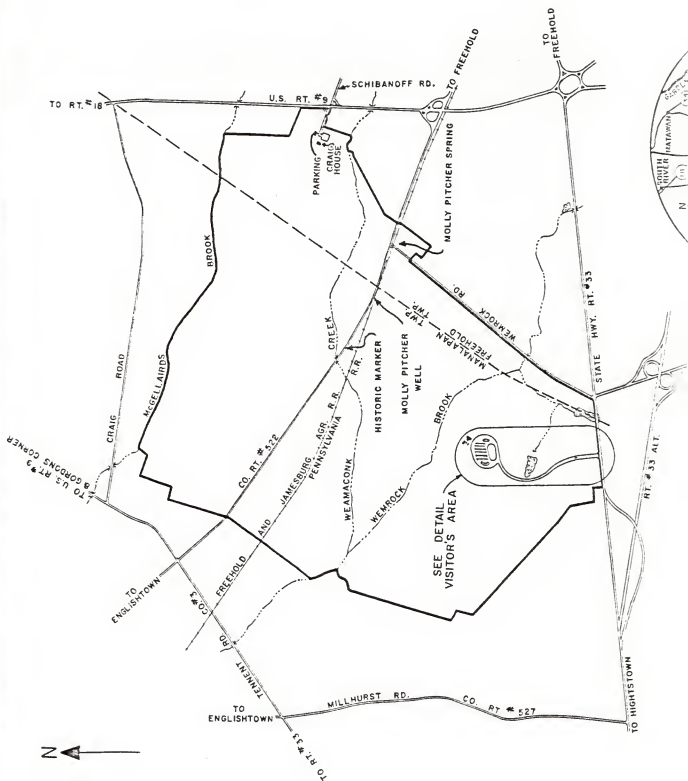
THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH

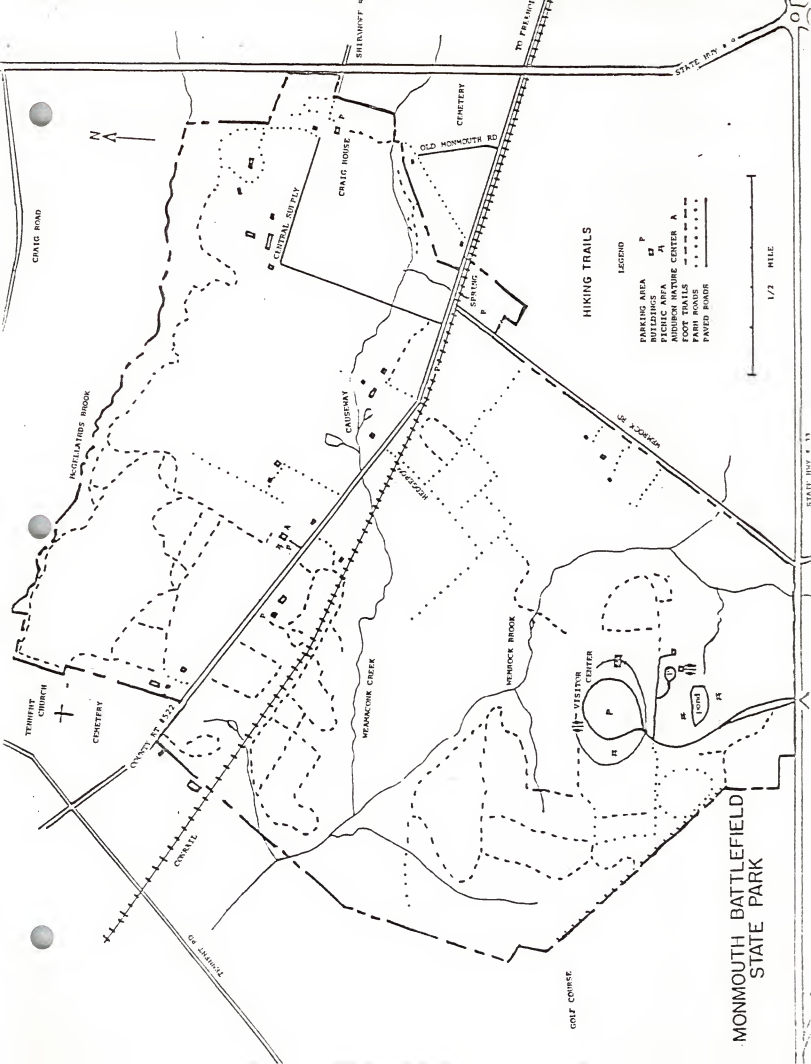
Lee's advance corps halfheartedly engages the British, then Lee for no clear reason orders a general retreat.



Monmouth Battlefield

State Park





CIGNETTES OF CHAPLAINS AND CLERGY AT THE SCENE:

The chaplains and clergy who were at the Battle of Monmouth served their country as honorably and bravely as did every soldier. Their prayers and encouragements as well as their fighting along side the others led to sustainment and victory. These are alluded to by Dr. Joel Headley in his book, The Chaplains and Clergy of The Revolution:⁹

"All these, and a hundred other great and good men, by their example and eloquence fed the fires of liberty, and sustained the courage of the people. Men of learning and culture, they were looked up to for advice and counsel--whose praise was not only in all the churches, but throughout the land, for their integrity, ability and patriotism. These formed a host of devoted laborers in the common cause, but more than this, their prayers arose incessantly, from camp and field, that God would defend the right, and save his people. These last are counted as nothing by the historian, but we may rest assured that they did more than resolutions of Congress, and acts of committees of safety, towards achieving our liberties. One may consider it beneath the dignity of history to put them among the causes that led ultimately to our success: but when that history comes to be read in the light of eternity, the enthusiasm of volunteers, and the steady courage of the disciplined battalions, will sink into insignificance beside the devout prayers and faith of these men of God."

Among the chaplains present at the Battle of Monmouth were many it is sure whom we cannot prove were actually there. History has not recorded all the names of those who served both God and Country there so we must report only those who we can say were beyond the shadow of doubt at the scene. There were two chaplains who were there on the side of the British: One a Tory and the other a German.

John Agnew:

Chaplain Agnew was a Loyalist who served the British as chaplain of the Queen's Rangers who fought extensively at the Battle of Monmouth. He had been rector of the Established Church, Anglican, at Suffolk, Virginia. The Queen's Rangers was composed of pro-British Americans mainly from Virginia and Pennsylvania. The commander, Lord Simcoe was wounded during the battle and many soldiers wounded and killed. Chaplain Agnew was kept busy attending to the severely wounded and encouraging those who were preparing to fight. He most likely said many prayers that day with the cannon-balls and cartridges flying around him.¹⁰

Köster:

Chaplain Köster was transferred to the Hessian Grenadiers prior to the battle and he also was a busy chaplain. He was to find the Germans greatly burdened by the heat on that day and they refused to remove their heavy clothing. Thus

many of them suffered heat stroke. During the long march, many Hessians deserted the British either to join the American cause or to return to Philadelphia where many of them had left wives or girl friends. Chaplain Köster spoke their language as did General Clinton and General Knyphausen but that alone could not dissuade the many desertions.

There are many other chaplains listed as having served both the Hessians and the British during the War of Independence but without proof of their presence at the battle scene, their mention would be conjecture. There were, however, many on the side of the Americans who are recorded in history as being present at the battle.

James Caldwell:

Known as "the fighting parson"¹¹ Chaplain Caldwell had served since 1776 as a chaplain. At the Battle of Monmouth he was officially listed as an assistant to the deputy quartermaster general.¹² He was Presbyterian from Virginia but had adopted New Jersey as his pastorate. He like so many other chaplains had attended Princeton College under the able tutorship of Dr. Witherspoon. At the first call to arms, Reverend Caldwell volunteered and was appointed as chaplain of the state's brigade. He acted not only as chaplain but as spy, gatherer of supplies, and as navigator. His church was located at Englishtown, just a few miles from the scene of battle and was used as a hospital during the war. He was shot and killed by an American sentry in 1781. He had been called by the British as "The Rebel High Priest."¹³ Chaplain Caldwell had not only seen to the spiritual needs of the soldiers at the Battle of Monmouth but also to their material needs.

David Jones:

David Jones was from Pennsylvania but had been born in Delaware on 12 May 1736. He was Baptist and had studied under Reverend Isaac Eaton at Hopewell Academy in New Jersey. He was ordained at Freehold, New Jersey (scene of the Battle of Monmouth) in 1766 and pastored the Baptist Church there. Besides being a minister and family man, he also was a farmer, author and scholar. While at Freehold, he went as missionary on two missions in the years of 1772, 1773 to the Indians in the Ohio country. As the American Revolution approached, he is said to have "espoused the cause of the colonies and spoke his mind so boldly in the Loyalist community of Freehold that his life was endangered."¹⁴ He then pastored in Pennsylvania where in 1775 he preached a noted sermon to the Pennsylvania troops, "Defensive War in A Just Cause Sinless."¹⁵ He received an appointment as chaplain to Colonel St. Clair's Pennsylvania Regiment in 1776 and subsequently in 1777 was chaplain to a brigade under General Anthony Wayne. He accompanied the army to Whitemarsh and to Valley Forge, and was with Wayne at the Battle of Monmouth.¹⁶ It is said that his spirited leadership and influence at one time led General Howe, then leader of the British Army to offer a reward for his capture. He accompanied General Wayne into Northwest Territory in 1794 as chaplain and served in the War of 1812. He died in 1820 and is buried in a churchyard near Valley Forge. Chaplain Jones had

pastored a church in the town of Freehold and while serving as chaplain under General Wayne came there to defend his former parishioners and liberate them from British control. General Wayne's forces were the most visible in direct contact with the enemy and stood in the gap as General Washington was reforming the retreating army. Chaplain Jones and his fiery spirit must have exerted some influence in accomplishing this.

Andrew Hunter:

Chaplain Hunter was a Presbyterian clergyman who was born in Virginia in 1752 and attended Princeton College. He settled eventually in New Jersey and pastored the church at Greenwich. In 1776, he accepted an appointment as chaplain to Col. Philip Van Cortlandt's battalion of Heard's Brigade in New Jersey. At the Battle of Monmouth, he was chaplain of the 3rd New Jersey Battalion and after the battle was to be promoted to brigade chaplain. His unit was attached to General Maxwell's fighting group during the battle of Monmouth. He received the personal thanks of General Washington for his conduct during the battle. As chaplain with General Maxwell, his unit moved out in early May to harass the British in New Jersey. This exhaustive period of almost two months in constant movement throughout New Jersey required a troop chaplain and he was the man for the job. Perhaps the first chaplain on the scene at Monmouth, he was able to coordinate coverage throughout the battle. The soldiers with General Maxwell were moved constantly about the battle area as orders were changed constantly. Chaplain Hunter had his hands full with these veteran soldiers who knew the British tactics but had to turn in the face of a good fight to retreat. Chaplain Hunter was to become a Navy chaplain in 1811 at the Washington Navy Yard and acted also as an instructor in mathematics. He died in 1823.¹⁷

Spence Grayson:

Chaplain Grayson was chaplain to Grayson's Additional Continental Regiment. He was born in 1734 at Oumfries, Virginia. Ordination came in 1771 as an Episcopal priest and he pastored in London County 1773-1776. He became a chaplain in May 1777. His unit marched at 0600 hours on the day of battle from Englishtown to Freehold where they engaged the British with the support of parts of Scott's Brigade, Varnum's Brigade, and four guns-- a total of 600 men. General Wayne commanded this forward element and drove back the enemy security element. Soon, General Lee ordered a hasty retreat thinking he could defend better from another position. This led to a long hot day of continual withdrawal until General Washington arrived and rallied the forces. Chaplain Grayson was kept extremely busy covering this enlarged element in the face of battle. He retired in 1779 and returned to the parish in Virginia where he remained until his death in 1798.¹⁸

David Griffith:

Chaplain and Surgeon Griffith was an Episcopal clergyman of the 3rd Virginia Regiment who also was assigned as surgeon to General Weedon's Brigade. He was born in New York City in 1742 and had gone to England where he received a degree in medicine in 1762. He came back to America where he served as a doctor in the interior of New York State until 1770. He entered the ministry

is an Episcopal priest having been ordained in London, England. He served as a missionary in Gloucester County in Southern New Jersey. He moved later to Virginia where on 28 February 1776, he became a chaplain. He enjoyed the friendship and confidence of General Washington who was one of his parishioners. After the war, he served as rector of Christ's Church in Alexandria, Virginia and became a bishop in 1786. He died in 1789. Prior to the Battle of Monmouth, he is said to have visited General Washington's quarters the previous evening for a private conversation. The historian tells it this way:

"During the early hours of the night of June 27 the sentinel near George Washington's headquarters challenged a gentleman who evidently did not have the countersign. To the officer on guard, when he approached the sentinel, this man introduced himself as 'Doctor Griffith, chaplain and surgeon in the Virginia line, on business highly important with the commander-in-chief.' The officer said, 'No, sir, no, impossible-- intensely engaged; my orders are positive; the General cannot be seen on any account.' In persuasive tones Doctor Griffith said to the officer, 'Present, sir, my humble duty to his Excellency and say that Doctor Griffith waits on him with secret and important intelligence and craves an audience of only five minute's duration.' When General Washington learned that the reverend doctor was so very anxious for an interview at that unreasonable hour, he directed that he be admitted. The conference was very brief, but it was said at the time that Doctor Griffith warned the commander-in-chief of the probable conduct of General Lee on the morrow from information which had come to him from trusted friends and patriots. He did not mention the names of those who had given him this information, but begged the general to be on his guard the next day against the bad conduct of those on whose military skill he was obliged to depend for the execution of his orders. Doctor Griffith left a deep impression on the commander-in-chief and the next day proved that the warning was timely."

Doctor Griffith received the personal thanks from General Washington for his conduct during the Battle of Monmouth both as chaplain and surgeon. Perhaps one of the most active chaplains of the battle, he cared for the wounded and ministered to the living.

Robert Blackwell;

Chaplain Blackwell was an Anglican priest from New York who had attended Princeton College. He was born 6 May 1748 at Long Island and was ordained in 1772 near London, England. He returned to the United States as a missionary in Southern New Jersey. He became chaplain to Wayne's brigade on 20 May 1778 and is also distinguished by also being a surgeon to one of the regiments. He had received the commendation of General Washington for his care of soldiers both as chaplain and surgeon at Valley Forge. He served throughout Wayne's command during the battle and because of the heat prostration and the casualties of gunfire, he was kept busy tending the wounded and praying for the soldiers at the front lines. He died in 1831.

John Hurt:

Chaplain Hurt served as chaplain of General Weedon's brigade. Little else is known about his personal life except that he was Episcopalian and was a chaplain for seven years. He became the first chaplain in the Regular Army of the United States in 1791. He was quite patriotic as is seen by this quotation from one of his sermons preached in 1777:²⁰

"If we have a true affection for ourselves; if we would reap the fruits of industry and enjoy our property in security, we must stand firm to the cause of liberty and public virtue... The Creator has connected our interest with our duty and made each man's happiness to contribute to the welfare of his country...The liberty we contend for is not the license of a few to tyrannize over multitudes but an equal freedom to all, so far as is consistent with the present circumstances of our country, good order, the constitution and peace of government... If we bear a true and cordial affection of our country we shall be warm and active in her cause; a calm concern is inconsistent with true patriotism."

He died in 1833 after serving his country in a commendable manner as chaplain.

Henry Miller:

Chaplain Miller (also Moeller) was born in Hamburg, Germany and was a Lutheran clergyman. He came to America at the age of fourteen and lived with the Reverend Doctor Muhlenberg. He studied theology under him and the Lutheran synod of Pennsylvania licensed him to preach. He pastored in Reading, Pennsylvania from 1775-1777 and on 25 May 1778 he became chaplain to all Germans in the United States Army. He traveled with General Muhlenberg mostly but served a vital need at the Battle of Monmouth in ministering to all German soldiers including deserters from the Hessian Grenadiers of the British. After the war, he pastored Lutheran churches in New York State until his death at eighty years of age in 1829.²¹

Enos Hitchcock:

Chaplain Hitchcock served as chaplain of the 10th Massachusetts Brigade under General Paterson. He was a Congregational clergyman born in Brookfield, Massachusetts in 1745. He graduated from Harvard in 1767 and was ordained in 1777. He was at Valley Forge and while there, "General Washington sometimes notified the chaplain that he intended to be present at Sunday services in his brigade perhaps to give the chaplain an opportunity to prepare a better sermon than usual. Washington was an attentive listener to the preaching of the Gospel and appeared devout and reverential at religious services."²² As chaplain of the Massachusetts soldiers, he was involved with many wounded and killed as well as those who were dying of fatigue. He is noted for being one of the prominent figures in Trumbull's great painting of the Surrender of Burgoyne which hangs in the Capitol at Washington, D.C.

James Tate:

Although his denomination is not known, Chaplain Tate served well with the North Carolina troops as a brigade chaplain. He was one of the less seasoned chaplains at the battle having been appointed only on 1 June 1778.

John Ellis:

Chaplain Ellis, a Congregationalist, was brigade chaplains to the Connecticut troops at Valley Forge and at the Battle of Monmouth. He graduated from Harvard in 1750 and was ordained to pastor at Norwich in 1753. He became chaplain in 1775 and served until 1783.²³

Israel Evans:

Chaplain Evans served the New Hampshire Brigade as chaplain and spent the winter at Valley Forge. He is said to have been "of great service in encouraging and cheering the soldiers when they were ready to yield to despair. His coolness in battle was proverbial and he sought rather than shunned the post of danger."²⁴ During the battle at Monmouth this coolheadedness may have saved many lives on a confusing battle field.

William Rogers:

Born in Rhode Island, in 1751, Chaplain Rogers was Baptist. He moved to pastor a church in Pennsylvania and was appointed a chaplain in 1776. He served at the Battle of Monmouth as brigade chaplain.

Alexander MacWhorter:

Born in 1734, Chaplain MacWhorter came to be a Presbyterian clergyman. He served as chaplain to Knox's Artillery Brigade at the Battle of Monmouth, a brigade with heavy involvement in providing cover for the American forces. He was present when Molly Macauley (Molly Pitcher) manned the gun which her husband operated after he was killed. His role in an environment where artillerymen were constantly moving heavy pieces of artillery up and down hills was to be sure difficult but he was said to have been a true patriot.

John Woodhull:

Reverend Woodhull was not an active chaplain at the time of the Battle of Monmouth but was an enlisted soldier. He was born in Long Island, New York and pastored a Presbyterian church in Leacock, Pennsylvania in 1770. At the Battle of Monmouth, he assisted in serving the cannon of a cannoner who fell not far from him. He fought in clear view of the Old Tennent Church where the following year he would be the pastor. He pastored there until his death in 1824.²⁵

John Peter Gabriel Muhlenberg:

Brigadier-General Muhlenberg was a Lutheran minister who also was ordained by the Episcopal Church. He is said to have "at Monmouth, on that scorching Sabbath day, led his troops over the burning sands as steadily as if on parade. Known for his coolness, courage, and determined resolution, he was selected by Wayne to command the reserve at the assault on Stony Point... He was afterwards stationed in Virginia, and aided in the operations that finally shut up Cornwallis in Yorktown."²⁶ His epitaph after his death in 1807 read: "He was brave in the field, faithful in the cabinet, honorable in all his transactions, a sincere friend, and an honest man."²⁷ BG Muhlenberg was born in Pennsylvania and received his education in Germany. He returned to study for the ministry and became assistant pastor to his father at Bedminster and New Germantown, N.J. In 1771 he pastored the Lutheran congregation at Woodstock, Virginia. He subsequently was elected to the House of Burgesses in 1774 and was associated with the leaders of the Revolutionary party. In January 1776, he preached his farewell sermon to his congregation on Ecclesiastes 3:1 and spoke of the need to defend one's country:²⁸

"At the close he told them of the resolution he had taken to fight, and if need be, die for his country on the battle-field. It was a strange announcement from the pulpit, but there were few to criticize his abandonment of his profession, for he had breathed his own fervid spirit into his congregation, and the kindling eye and speaking countenance told him that his course had their hearty approval. Said he, in conclusion, 'The Bible tells us there is a time for all things, and there is a time to preach, and a time to pray, but the time for me to preach has passed away;' then, raising his voice, till it rung like the blast of a trumpet through the church, he exclaimed, 'and there is a time to fight, and that time has now come!' Closing the services he stepped into the vestry-room, and laying aside his gown, put on his colonel's uniform, and stood before his astonished congregation in full regiments. The sudden apparition of a Virginia colonel, in full uniform, walking down the broad aisle, in the place of their pastor, took every one by surprise. Turning neither to the right hand nor to the left, he strode sternly on to the door, and ordered the drum to beat for recruits.... The congregation rose simultaneously to their feet, and the men gathered in a mass around their former pastor--scarcely one capable of bearing arms remaining behind... before night nearly three hundred men had joined the standard. He immediately marched south, and was present with his regiment at the battle of Charleston.... The next year he was promoted by Congress to the rank of brigadier-general, and ordered to take charge of all the Continental troops in Virginia."

Muhlenberg was one of those commanders who when the smoke of battle had cleared away, was found praying with the wounded who had been struck

by their side, or offering thanksgivings in front of the battalions for a victory won. He made sure all his units had chaplains and were cared for. General Muhlenberg was relied on by General Washington at several times during the Battle of Monmouth and the confidence placed in him by the commander-in-chief was not in vain.

Gilbert, John, and William Tennent:

Though Gilbert had long been dead as were now both John and William, his two sons, they still had great influence in the area of Monmouth Court House. They had pastored Old Tennent Church prior to the day of battle and the spirit of the people gathered there reeked of their cry for religious liberty. Gilbert had been influential in the evangelistic nature of the church and the community. John had been a fiery preacher but died only a few years after his appointment in his father's stead. William pastored the church for many years and during that time the church was rebuilt. The missionary David Brainerd and the evangelist George Whitfield had preached in services here and the people had wept tears of repentance. The local Indians were ministered to as were the slaves held by many of the landowners. The lives and the spirits of these men of God still pervaded the region as the battle raged at the site of the church.

THE WORK OF THE CHAPLAINS AND CLERGY IN THE FLOW OF THE BATTLE:

Prior to the Battle of Monmouth, many chaplains ministered to the troops at Valley Forge. Chaplains who endured this long cold winter with the troops were Avery, David, Ellis, Gano, William Rogers, Hezekiah Smith, Charles Thompson, ^{and} and others such as Caldwell, David Jones, Hunter, Grayson, Griffith, Blackwell, Henry Miller, Hitchcock, Evans, MacWhorter, John Woodhull, and the general Muhlenberg. Chaplain Caldwell was attempting to meet the material needs of the soldiers as well, Chaplains Griffith and Blackwell were doctoring the soldiers as well as ministering to them, and Henry Miller was calming the German soldiers. Sermons were preached, visitations were constant, seeking supplies from churches both near and far was one of their missions, and the Bible classes and prayers were constantly standing in the gap against defeat.

These chaplains had formed liaison with their commanders. They were trusted representatives of God. Chaplain Griffith went to General Washington prior to the day of battle and confided in him that Lee was not ready to lead the troops. General Washington heeded the warning and was wary the next day, coming at near noon to rally the troops. Chaplain Hunter was with Maxwell's troops a month prior to the battle in the unit with a responsibility to harass the British. He was in the area when the forward elements arrived. This long arduous task of traveling throughout New Jersey was done with a spirit of zeal. One could say he was in the advance party of chaplains.

Chaplains David Jones^{do not}, Spence Grayson, and Robert Blackwell were the chaplains with the forward element under Colonel Grayson and General Anthony Wayne. As the skirmishes and the battle began, they were at the front or near to it to encourage their soldiers in the battle. Across the battle line, Chaplains John Agnew and Chaplain ^{do not} Foster were with their troops the Hessian Grenadiers and the Queen's Rangers. Chaplains Griffith and Blackwell were kept very busy with their roles as surgeons beginning with that opening conflict.

Chaplain Caldwell was most likely with the Quarter Masters location near the rear of the battle re-supplying the front lines. Here also would most likely be the aid station to care for the wounded and the dying. There would have been many opportunities for spiritual counsel as well. Chaplain Hunter was with Maxwell's Brigade which was near the middle of the battle area behind the immediate front line most of the time. Chaplain Hurt was in a similar location but his unit was a forward element for a time.

Chaplain Henry Miller was with Muhlenberg's Virginians and they were in the rear most of the day but toward the close of the day they had the front area for position. He was used as an interpreter and encouraged the German soldiers to fight on. He was most likely used

in communicating with Hessian deserters from the British.

Chaplains Hitchcock, Tate, and Ellis were with the Main Army under Washington which arrived about noon. They fought and encouraged the troops during the hottest part of the day. With the Massachusetts, the North Carolina, and the Connecticut troops respectively, they were far from home but served God and Country bravely. Chaplain Evans likewise was in the Main Army being with the New Hampshire troops. Chaplain William Rogers with the Rhode Island troops was in the same position.

Chaplain MacWhorter and Reverend John Woodhull were with the artiller near the rear of the formation. In the middle of the day, the artillery was farther forward but near the close of the day, it was moved to Comb's Hill above the battle. These men assisted in the movement of artiller pieces and Woodhull manned a cannon for a time. Chaplain MacWhorter was present when Molly Macaulay assisted with the cannons and got water for the tired troops.

Brigadier-General Muhlenberg was with his troops the entire day leading the way with calmness and courage. When his troops were called on to lead in a charge, he was at their front. When the battle was over, he prayed with the wounded and certainly had his chaplains care for them as well.

The churches of Freehold were used as hospitals. The Old Tennant Church and parsonage, St. Peter's Episcopal Church, and the Baptist Church were used during this time. Also, the church at Englishtown was a hospital.

On 25 June 1778, Reverend John Woodhull had led a Bible study at a local home near the Old Tennant Church and had preached on Luke 15, The Prodigal Sun. That evening he had taught on Psalm 119:114: "Thou art my hiding place and my shield: I hope in thy word."³⁰ It was a very appropriate scripture for those who were there and who were about to fight in the Battle of Monmouth.

Following the battle, burial honors were to be rendered to all officers. The chaplains were kept busy with this since scores of soldiers had died and many officers. On the 30th of June, General Washington issued the following order:³¹

"The men are to wash themselves this afternoon and appear as clean and decent as possible. Seven O'clock this evening is appointed that we may publickly unite in thanksgiving to the Supreme Disposer of human events for the victory which was obtained on Sunday over the Flower of the British Troops."

The two chaplains, Andrew Hunter and David Chambers received the personal thanks from the commander-in-chief for their actions at the battle. Meanwhile, the chaplains with the British were on their way to Sandy Hook with the troops to go by ship to New York City.

HISTORICAL INFLUENCES:

There were many seemingly coincidences which led to avoidance of defeat at the Battle of Monmouth on 28 June 1778. Perhaps the most noteworthy is the personality of George Washington. His care of detail in the issuing of orders and his knowledge of his officers prevented a total rout. His respect for the experience and age of General Charles Lee led him to replace Lafayette with him but his attention to the advice of a chaplain who just happened to be a doctor also saved the day.

The respect commanders such as Washington, Muhlenberg, and Wayne gave to God and the insistence of these men on having able chaplains with their troops may have prevented a total rout on the day of battle.

The provision which was truly Divine of both Lafayette and von Steuben to assist the army at Valley Forge and in the day of battle is another historical influence which led to victory over the British.

Princeton College (now Princeton University) was a seed bed for chaplains. Through the guidance of able professors and Dr. John Witherspoon, there were many chaplains present for duty on the battle day.

The courage and fortitude of General Philemon Dickinson and the New Jersey Militia in harassing the British and stalling their advance gave opportunity for a blow against them at Monmouth.

The courage of several Anglican ministers to stand up for American independence when their mother church was British allowed many fine chaplains to serve at the battle.

The Old Tennent Church with its spirit of independence and religious liberty was a fitting scene for this battle. The prayers of the people and the ministry many of them gave to the soldiers may have saved many lives and won the battle.

The alliance with the French government led to the decision of the British to evacuate Philadelphia. The courage of the French to support this cause when America was not Catholic and there had been previous conflict with them is noteworthy.

The religious influences of George Whitefield and David Brainerd had a great effect on the morale of the army of Americans. The Congregational, Baptist, Presbyterian, Anglican, the new Methodist Church, Lutheran, and the newly arrived Catholic priests were a melting pot of faith with combined prayers to God for victory and peace. The many Quaker, Mennonite, and Moravian groups who prayed for peace and tranquility cannot be forgotten as many paid a dear price in houses and goods.

Those who heeded God's call to be a chaplain were highly influential on the day of battle.

CONCLUSION:

Servants of God both military and civilian were present and effective in ministry at the Battle of Monmouth. The situation was grievous and difficult for the soldiers and without capable chaplains, they may have given up the cause. The chaplains were without chaplain assistants, modern equipment, and were only appointed one year at a time. They were volunteers who left comfortable churches and homes to represent God among the soldiers. The scene of the battle was familiar to many who had pastored or grown up near there. For many it was unfamiliar territory.

The chaplains received commendation from General Washington but the majority have been neglected by history. In searching for information, it was found to be scattered and scanty. There were many chaplains it is believed whose very presence at this important battle is unrecorded to this day.

Some learnings from this study are these:

1. Chaplains must use candor in dealing with commanders and be frank regarding the morale condition among the troops and leaders.
2. The presence of the chaplain when the soldiers are hurting as at Valley Forge, will reap dividends in ministry in the day of battle such as at Monmouth.
3. Chaplains should use whatever talents they possess to help the soldiers.
4. The chaplain must be fit for duty under the most difficult of circumstances. No chaplains lost their lives at this battle perhaps because of this.
5. The chaplain must encourage the soldiers and never discourage them.
6. When commanders honor and use their chaplains as Washington, Wayne, and Muhlenberg did, the morale of the soldiers increases.
7. The chaplain must be bold to preach the truth but also must speak with patriotic courage.
8. Chaplains of a variety of denominational backgrounds and origins can effectively minister to soldiers on a dynamic battleground.

FOOTNOTES

1. Williams, Eugene Franklin, Soldiers Of God--The Chaplains Of The Revolutionary War. Carlton Press, Inc.: New York, NY, 1975. p. 85.
2. The Chaplain And Military Morale. The Chaplain School, August 1950. p. 2.
3. Stryker, William S., The Battle of Monmouth. Princeton University Press: Princeton, N.J., 1927. p. 73.
4. Ibid., p. 95.
5. Ibid., pp. 111,112.
6. Symmes, Rev. Frank R.(Compiler), History Of The Old Tennent Church. George W. Burroughs, Printer: Cranbury, N.J., 1904. p. 11.
7. Stryker, William S., i.e., p. 234.
8. Ibid., p. 235.
9. Headley, Joel Tyler, The Chaplains And Clergy Of The Revolution. Charles Scribner: New York, 1861. p.4.
10. Williams, Eugene Franklin, i.e., p. 276.
11. Ibid., p. 134.
12. Thompson, Parker C. From Its European Antecedents To 1791-The United States Army Chaplaincy. Vol. I. Office of the Chief of Chaplains Department of the Army, Washington, D.C., 1978. p. 195.
13. Honeywell, Roy J., Col(Ret), Chaplains Of The United States Army. Office of The Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army, Wash., D.C., 1958. p. 48.
14. Malone, Dumas (Editor), Dictionary of American Biography, Vol X. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1946. p. 166.
15. Ibid.
16. Williams, Eugene Franklin, i.e., p. 195.
17. Ibid., pp. 190-192.
18. Ibid., p. 181.

19. Stryker, i.e., pp. 111,112.
20. Williams, i.e., p. 193.
21. Ibid., pp 218-220.
22. Ibid., p. 188.
23. Ibid., p. 163.
24. Ibid., p. 170.
25. Ibid., pp.273-275.
26. Headley, i.e., p. 125.
27. Ibid.
28. Ibid., pp. 123,124.
29. Thompson, i.e., p. 157.
30. Symmes, i.e., p. 377.
31. Stryker, i.e., p. 235.

Busch, Noel F., WINTER QUARTERS. Liveright: New York, 1974.

Gannett, Lewis (Editor), FROM LEXINGTON TO LIBERTY. Doubleday & Company, Inc.: Garden City, New York, 1955.

Headley, Joel Tyler, THE CHAPLAINS AND CLERGY OF THE REVOLUTION. Charles Scribner: New York, 1861.

Heitman, Francis B., HISTORICAL REGISTER OF OFFICERS OF THE CONTINENTAL ARMY DURING THE WAR OF THE REVOLUTION, APRIL 1775-DECEMBER 1783. Genealogical Publishing Co., Inc.: Baltimore, 1973.

Hoffman, Robert V., THE REVOLUTIONARY SCENE IN NEW JERSEY. The American Historical Company, Inc.: New York, 1942.

Honeywell, COL, Ret., USAR, CHAPLAINS OF THE UNITED STATES ARMY. Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army: Washington, D.C., 1958.

Horner, William S., THIS OLD MONMOUTH OF OURS. Morris Genealogical Library: Allenhurst, N.J., 1972(Reprinted).

Kail, Jerry (Compiler), WHO WAS WHO DURING THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. The Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc.: Indianapolis, 1976.

Lee, Francis B. (Editor), DOCUMENTS RELATING TO THE REVOLUTIONARY HISTORY OF THE STATE OF NEW JERSEY, "Newspaper Extracts." The John L. Murphy Publishing Company: Trenton, New Jersey, 1903.

Malone, Dumas (Editor), DICTIONARY OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Charles Scribner's Sons: New York, 1946.

Mitchell, LTC Joseph B., DECISIVE BATTLES OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION. G.P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1962.

Smith, Samuel Stelle, A MOLLY PITCHER CHRONOLOGY. Philip Freneau Press: Monmouth Beach, New Jersey, 1972.

Stryker, William S., THE BATTLE OF MONMOUTH. Princeton University Press: Princeton, New Jersey, 1927.

Symmes, Reverend Frank R. (Compiler), HISTORY OF THE OLD TENNENT CHURCH. George W. Burroughs, Printer: Cranbury, New Jersey, 1904.

Thompson, Parker C., FROM ITS EUROPEAN ANTECEDENTS TO 1791: THE UNITED STATES ARMY CHAPLAINCY, VOL.1. Office of the Chief of Chaplains, Department of the Army: Washington, D.C., 1978.

BIBLIOGRAPHY(continued)

Williams, Eugene F., SOLDIERS OF GOD--THE CHAPLAINS OF THE
REVOLUTIONARY WAR. Carlton Press, Inc.: New York, 1975.

THE HOLY BIBLE, OLD AND NEW TESTAMENT IN THE KING JAMES VERSION.
Regency Publishing House: Nashville, Tennessee, 1976.

NEW JERSEY IN THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION, 1763-1783: A DOCUMENTARY
HISTORY. New Jersey Historical Society: Trenton, New Jersey, 1975.

THE CHAPLAIN AND MILITARY MORALE. The Chaplain School, August 1950.